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ORATION.



AN  
ORATION  
DELIVERED BEFORE THE  
SOCIETY OF THE SONS OF NEW ENGLAND  
OF  
PHILADELPHIA,  
DECEMBER 22d, 1847,  
THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS,  
BY  
WILLIAM H. DILLINGHAM.



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Anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrims,  
*Philadelphia, Dec. 22d, 1847.*

DEAR SIR,

At a meeting of the Board of Officers of the Society of the Sons of New England, held after the public exercises of this day, it was—  
“*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Wm. H. Dillingham, Esquire, for his eloquent Oration, and that a copy be requested for publication.”

It affords us great pleasure to transmit to you the foregoing resolution, and to accompany it with a hope that you will regard with favour the request therein contained.

We have the honour to be, with sentiments of esteem,

Your obedient servants,

JOS. R. CHANDLER,  
JNO. W. CLAGHORN,  
JNO. T. S. SULLIVAN,

*Committee.*

TO WM. H. DILLINGHAM, Esq.

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*Philadelphia, Dec. 23d, 1847.*

GENTLEMEN,

In compliance with your request on behalf of the Society of the Sons of New England, I submit herewith a copy of the Discourse delivered at the recent Anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrims. With my best acknowledgments for the handsome terms in which the vote of your Board of Officers has been conveyed,

I am, gentlemen,

Very truly yours,

W. H. DILLINGHAM.

TO JOSEPH R. CHANDLER,  
JOHN W. CLAGHORN,  
JOHN T. S. SULLIVAN, Esqs.

*Committee.*





## ORATION.

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HISTORY has its narrative and its moral. Nothing is more deserving of attention than the lessons it teaches. But they are not always to be found upon the surface. Philosophy teaching by examples, in parables which he who runs may read, was reserved for him who spake as never man spoke. History takes its hue and colouring from the writer. The same transactions and the same characters may be so presented as to merit either admiration or contempt. To be infallible and impartial is not given to man. For the most part we peruse its pages or listen to the recital of its incidents for amusement rather than for instruction. But it is not in this manner we can get to understand the character of the Pilgrim Fathers. They belonged to a sect that has been much calumniated. In this work royalty and infidelity exhausted their powers: happily, sophistry and ridicule are no longer in the ascendant. It is not in the pages of sceptical casuists and doggerel rhymsters that the men of this age will look for the motives and objects of the first great champions of civil liberty.

Casting a hasty glance at the past, we see a little company of persecuted men making their escape from England to Holland, whence, after taking breath, they come to America and settle in the wilderness. What is there in this movement to excite our admiration? Is it even possible that the day on which these pilgrims landed has come to be regarded as an era in history—one of those great way-marks by which we measure the track of time—and that we have assembled here now for purposes of mutual

congratulation and joyous greeting, upon our own personal relations to it? Considered as a part of the narrative of history only, without reference to previous events bearing upon it, or subsequent developments flowing from it, amidst the great commotions of human affairs, it is as nothing. Let us attend a little to the moral. The "great mistress of wisdom" presents us here examples, to which, on this day, our birth-right challenges attention.

It was not until the close of the fifteenth century that the old world had heard of the new. Thousands of years had rolled on—generation succeeded generation, and nations had their rise and fall. Babylon and Nineveh had come and gone; Egypt had built her pyramids and filled her catacombs; Greece and Rome had enjoyed, each in turn, its brief day of power and splendour; the Alexandrian Library had been burnt, and the hoofs of the Caliphs had trampled upon all that was sacred in Palestine. The age of chivalry was gone, with its Charlemagne, its Richards, and its Edwards, leaving behind its feudal system, iron-bound and roughshod, with some foot-prints of the Moor upon the banks of Guadalquivir. The Papal hierarchy had reached its zenith, and kings still stood in awe of the sovereign pontiff. They had thought themselves wise in geography in that same old world, and have left us their outline of the figure of the earth as they imagined it. They had had their commerce in papyrus; they had still their illuminated manuscripts, their libraries of hundreds of thousands of volumes, and their very few copies of the Bible. They had watched the stars with the aid of their own divine philosophy, and rejoiced in astrology; they had subjected every material substance to the test of alchymy, and been untiring in their searches after the philosopher's stone. Aristotle had been regarded for ages as the *ne plus ultra* of human wisdom, and St. Thomas Aquinas was their great master in theology. To say that the earth moved, even so late as the time of Bacon, merited and received condign punishment at the hands of self-constituted guardians of the truth.

Europe was just emerging from its "night of a thousand years," when Columbus, by the aid of the mariner's compass, made his first voyage, "due west," and America was discovered. The new route to India was traced; and the ocean thenceforth became the highway of nations. The commerce of the world was transferred from the camel and the caravan to swift ships and proud navies, borne by every wind to every clime. Merchants soon became merchant princes, and new avenues were opened to wealth and power. Human nature was beginning to assert its claim to a higher destiny.

These mighty influences, the mariner's compass, the art of printing, the revival of learning, and the reformation, had been in operation about a century, when this little band of persecuted men sought an asylum in the new world.

Their number was but one hundred, all told. The bark in which they crossed the ocean was of less capacity than that of one of the craft which navigate our Schuylkill canal. The length of their voyage was the same as that of Columbus, a little more than a century before. The Spaniards had held their "revels in the halls of the Montezumas" during the greater part of this century. Virginia had been settled a few years, and contained from five hundred to one thousand inhabitants. What we now call New England was regarded as an island—a mistake not corrected in old England so late as the time of an official despatch of Lord North during our revolution. They came from England, and our thoughts are naturally turned to the condition of things in England at the time. They had not much glass for their houses, and not a great deal of linen for their persons; no tea or coffee, and but little sugar for their tables, in old England then. They had no science of chemistry or of geology: no knowledge of electricity or of the power of steam; scarcely any manufactures, but very imperfect agriculture, and very little horticulture. Cross-bows had scarcely gone out of use in war, and their fire arms, generally,

had match-locks. They had their old baronial establishments, their ruined castles, and deserted monasteries; their magnificent cathedrals, their two great universities, their vast enclosures for parks and preserves: they had monuments of the times of the Druids, and abiding evidence that England, for two centuries, had been a Roman province. They boasted of a constitution, but it existed principally in custom, depending upon uncertain memory, and there were precedents of all kinds; those favouring prerogative greatly prevailing over those in favour of liberty. From the peasant to the prince, the distance was more awful than we can well imagine. For five thousand years the human race had been subject, all the world over, to the dominion of arbitrary power. From the earliest period of recorded time, history had been occupied with the rise and fall of "kingdoms and of kings." With exceptions, "few and far between," men had enjoyed no rights, liberties or privileges, paramount to the will of a despot. Even in the brightest days of the Grecian republics, Attica had its four hundred thousand slaves to its ten thousand freemen. The authority of kings was sustained by the simple dogma of divine right, without foundation in reason or revelation. Its strength was in the antiquity and universality of the precedent, and it was great. It would seem to have been regarded as a sort of necessity. Men fell into the absurdity of fearing their own bad passions, and those of their fellows, without power, more than those of a ruler, of like passions, with all power. The great master of English history, upon this subject, discourses thus:—"A regard for liberty, though a laudable passion, ought commonly to be subjected to a reverence for established government, treating the opposite maxims as essential to its very existence." This is the language of a monarchist, embarrassed by a sense of the value of freedom. Although liberty is laudable, passive obedience and non-resistance are more laudable. It inculcates the doctrine that whatever estimate we may set upon the value of liberty, the maxims which go to sustain that

which is opposed to it, are essential to the very existence of the British crown. But the opposite of liberty is slavery ; therefore, according to their philosophic historian, slavery is an essential element in the constitution of their government.

Curious antiquaries may indeed discover in the Wittena-gemote of old England, some traces of right in the subject, and some effort to limit the royal prerogative, and upon this ground claim similar virtue for modern parliaments. All have heard of their famous Magna Charta, which, if of any efficacy, should have been a perfect safe-guard for liberty. But in sober truth the ancient British constitution, as has been justly said by one of their own whig historians, is “a popular delusion”—“but an echo.” The maxim that “the king can do no wrong,” makes all a delusion with which it is identical. The kings of England have always taken to themselves just so much prerogative as the necessity created by their passions or their vices prompted, and as they had the power, skill and courage to maintain. Sometimes they have had no better excuse for this law of necessity than caprice and cruelty. Magna Charta and parliaments were mere cobwebs before such tyrants as Henry VIII. and the scarcely less arbitrary sovereigns who succeeded him. The judiciary was of little avail where the law which governed was the law of the strongest. Royal prerogative, as has been said of an army, “is so forcible, and at the same time so strong a weapon, that any hand which wields it, may, without much dexterity, perform any operation, and attain any ascendant in human society.”\* The Tudors and the Stuarts, with their Court of Star Chamber, their Court of High Commission, and their Courts Martial, recognised no such thing as “the rights of man :” they trampled upon life, liberty, property and conscience, alike. The historian already cited remarks,—“It may be said with truth, that the English, in that age, were so thoroughly subdued, that, like Eastern

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\* Humc.

slaves, they were inclined to admire those acts of tyranny which were exercised over themselves and at their own expense." What is this but to say, "however odious and detestable tyranny may be, there is a period in English history, when by common consent it was adopted in its worst shape by the nation, and not only adopted but admired." But this would go to establish the foundations of absolute power, both in the consent of the governed and in the genius of the people; as, he afterwards argues, that such power is essential to the very existence of their government. With what show of truth can such a proposition be predicated of that portion of the population whose very name has always been a standing protest against tyranny? We venture the assertion that there never was a time in England, since Wickliffe translated his Bible and preached his doctrines, when a majority of the British nation gave their free consent to the exercise of unlimited power by their sovereigns. The casuist must fall back upon the dogma of a divine right to do wrong; rob the prince of the power of darkness of his great peculiar infamy, and transfer his governing principle, "evil be thou my good," to the benign ruler of the universe.

It is certain that during the first twenty years of the reign of Henry VIII. parliament was not in session a twelvemonth; and during his entire reign of near thirty-eight years, there were but ten parliaments summoned, and but twenty-three sessions held. His acts of cruelty are the disgrace of English history, and add to the thousand contradictions of their maxim, that "the king can do no wrong."

Mary succeeded him. Sir James M<sup>c</sup>Intosh, in the beautiful history which he began, and which it can never be sufficiently lamented that he did not live to finish, says, of the death of the Lady Jane Grey, and of her treatment of that unfortunate lady, "IT WAS A DEATH SUFFICIENT TO HONOUR AND

DISHONOUR AN AGE.”\* Elizabeth was no less a tyrant; with more semblance of virtue than her father, she did more injustice to humanity. To find an excuse to take the life of Mary Queen of Scots, a man was convicted under circumstances which demonstrate, that an Englishman had no more security for his life under the Tudor Queen, than men had under the worst despotisms, of the worst countries, in the worst times. Her government is described by Hume even, as no more limited or constitutional than that of France, and “the English constitution as non-existent in her reign.” The clue to her character is supposed to be found in her dying words, betraying, as they do, a remorseless selfishness—“that she knew nothing in the world worthy to trouble her;” as much as to say, she left behind not one living thing that she cared for: worthily and justly compared to that expression of the most odious of the Roman emperors—“*Me pereunte pereat mundus.*” Thus much of the second example, illustrating the irony of the maxim as to the infallibility of sovereigns.†

And what shall we say of James; the prince who, like Pharaoh of old, would let the people neither stay nor go. One commences the account of his reign with the remark, that “it is the basest and most barren in English history.” It has been said of his divine right to the crown of England, that “his title by descent would not pass an estate of twenty marks, and yet from whose accession was dated the doctrine of indefeasible right of birth to the crown.” Upon the sacred immunities which such a title bestowed, the Stuarts attempted to practice the tyranny of the Tudors. He is described by Bolingbroke as “one who could neither think with sense nor act with spirit.” He died from the effects of “habitual intemperance, gout and vexation,” after having cursed his country

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\* See note A, in Appendix, for the entire passage.

† See note B, in Appendix.



with a reign of twenty-three years.\* Who was this king whose tyranny forced the Pilgrims to abandon the home of their fathers, and fly to the wilderness? He was the son of a mother who conspired with her paramour to murder her husband. He was the son of a mother who married the murderer of her husband. And who was his father? All know the story of Darnley, and Ruthven, and David Rizzio, and Bothwell. The revolting scandal of the times brings into ridiculous prominence "a contemptible Italian music master," in connexion with a race of kings; the same race who persecuted our forefathers, and over the fate of one of whom, who suffered upon the scaffold a sacrifice to justice, liberty and law, so many tears have been shed. Mary, Darnley, Ruthven, Rizzio, Bothwell; these are the names to be remembered, and these the characters to be studied, if we would form a just estimate of the lineage of James I. Of such materials are those whom artificial systems would consecrate as "the Lord's anointed."

With these sovereigns religion was a mere engine of state: the "Defender of the Faith" sustained the church of Rome until he saw it interfering with his own supremacy: then he sent Catholics to the stake for refusing to acknowledge his sovereignty over the Pope in all ecclesiastical matters pertaining to England: he persecuted Protestants with equal rigour, for not believing in transubstantiation. Elizabeth and James vented their fiercest wrath upon non-conformists and separatists. These three reigns, with that of Mary which intervened, cover a period of a century. What a period of fiery trials! What a century of suffering for conscience sake! A century unparalleled in the annals of religious persecution—immortalized by its contributions to the "army of martyrs."

The history of the Plymouth Pilgrims begins with that of the

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See note C, in Appendix.

Puritans, and the history of the Puritans is the history of the Reformation. The Pilgrims came out of the very heart of the Reformation. In studying this history we must put on the mantle of Christian charity. It cannot be disposed of simply by denunciation of the Pope, or a sneer at the Reformers, or by the assertion of infallibility in either. The age is too far advanced and too enlightened for such short and dogmatical logic. Nor, although the satirist and the caricaturist find continual occasion for the exercise of their craft in denouncing and depicting the vices and follies of poor human nature, will we put forth the theory of the natural depravity of our race.

But of all pretences in this wicked world, we do contend, that of the divine right of kings is the greatest pretence; and of all dogmas, that of the infallibility of kings the most absurd. Both are persevered in, on and on, against light and truth. Both are an insult to common sense and the common conscience of all truly enlightened Christian men. Far better have your kings of wood and iron, and your queens of ivory and gold: they would not so often contradict your maxim, and put truth to shame. Our hope and trust is, that the work of the Puritans is still going on; that man is yet to be elevated to his true dignity in the scale of being—when kings shall be regarded by all civilized nations, and by all created intelligences, as we now regard the idols of the heathen—"the work of men's hands."

The Reformation was every where connected with civil liberty. Its seed had been sown in England, by Wickliffe, so early as 1360. Lord Cobham was its first great martyr. "*I shrive me here unto Thee, my Eternal, living God,*" were his remarkable words, uttered upon his knees with uplifted hands, as he turned from the archbishop who had solicited him to accept of absolution, after being sentenced to the stake. Many of the Lollards, who adopted the doctrines of Wickliffe, suffered in the same manner, in the same righteous cause, "to win a starry crown." John Huss, in

Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, preached similar doctrines in the next century, and also suffered martyrdom for advocating the principles of religious and intellectual freedom. Whence came this little band of Christian men, known among us as the United Brethren, or Moravians, distinguished for purity and virtue, "living in the world and yet not of the world," retaining traits of primitive simplicity, uncontaminated, and unsophisticated by the fashions and manners of artificial life? They are the descendants of those who followed John Huss.

"In England the torch was lit which first showed the nations how to emancipate themselves from the slavery under which they had groaned for so many ages."\* Luther, in the sixteenth century, carried out the great work which Wickliffe had begun. But, according to the Philosophy of History, the Lutheran movement in Germany was sustained by the principle, that it was "the right of the civil ruler to reform religion, and to maintain it as reformed."† The Calvinistic movement which came after it, was a popular movement, independent of and sometimes in defiance of the civil power. Its principal seat, originally, was in France and the Low Countries, where "the connexion between civil and religious liberty forced itself upon the eyes and hearts of all Protestants."‡ The school where these doctrines were taught was at Geneva. Hither, those who fled from the Spanish regime, while it held sway in England, resorted. They cherished their peculiar doctrines with a zeal proportioned to the persecution endured in the cause. When, upon the accession of Elizabeth, the fires of Smithfield were extinguished, these persecuted men returned, and were every where regarded with intense interest. John Knox had been of their number. They soon acquired commanding influence.

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\* 2d Stebbing's History of the Christian Church, 307.

† See note D, in Appendix.

‡ 3d M'Intosh's History, 185, 186.

They were generally men of true piety and acknowledged ability. They urged further reforms in the discipline and ceremonial of the established church. This was opposed by Elizabeth; but such was their weight, that she was only able with all her influence as a Protestant queen, to resist the movement by a vote of 59 to 58\* in the ecclesiastical council; those in the minority being of greatest weight both in council and at court. This strong resistance to the will of a queen of the house of Tudor, a daughter of Henry VIII., put her to the assertion of her high prerogatives. She proceeded at once to extremes against those who had dared to oppose her. The Court of Star Chamber was set to work with all its appropriate and collateral engines, not excepting the pillory and the rack. These stern opposers of arbitrary despotism were nick-named *Puritans*, because of their adherence to rigid principles. We are told, that "their strength was in great towns, the scenes of bold discussion, and the favourite dwelling of bold innovation." Elizabeth, in the school of her father, had seen men punished for teaching their children the Lord's prayer in their own language; for reading the New Testament in the same language, she had seen them subjected to the pains and penalties of the Star Chamber. To entertain a persecuted preacher, to neglect a fast, had been capital offences. Sir Thomas More pronounced some of these sentences, and witnessed their execution—then lost his own head for not conceding that Henry, in England, should be regarded as the head of the church. She profited by the lesson. But the cruelty of the father was in keeping with his vices: hers had not this apology, and was the more odious because of her sex.

These things must be called to mind, considered, and reconsidered, to enable us to form an adequate idea of the persecution our forefathers had undergone in England, and to understand the

true value of civil and religious liberty. It was under such persecutions, that Puritanism sprung into existence.

It may be worth while here, to examine a little the justice of the sneers with which a certain great historian commonly treats the Puritan character. It should be remembered, that one object of the same historian is to bring all Christianity into contempt. Treating of the times which we have been considering, on one page he pronounces toleration "paradoxical in principle, salutary in practice."\* On the next, he refers to certain early doctrines held by the first reformers in common, and still retained by the Puritans, as "affording the highest subject of joy, triumph and security," and intimately connected with that enthusiastic spirit which produced such great results, as yet in theory absurd, and when examined by the test of human reason also paradoxical. *Mutato nomine de te fabula narratur.* The principles of the early reformers styled Calvinistic, are, like toleration, "paradoxical in theory, salutary in practice." Thus we find him throughout. Speaking of the passive obedience and non-resistance every where inculcated in the reign of James I., he says: "It was only during the next generation that the noble principles of liberty took root, and spreading themselves under the shelter of puritanical absurdities, became fashionable among the people."† Wonderful philosophy, to bring into such close alliance, such continual and intimate connexion and mutual relation, absurdities and benignities—teaching that things absurd in nature are yet benign in action. To solve the enigma, we must regard the one as a *fact*, while the other is but an *opinion*.

Again: "The English have no reason, from the example of their ancestors, to be in love with the picture of absolute monar-

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\* 3d Vol. Hume's History, 330.

† Ibid, 226.

chy, or to prefer the unlimited authority of the prince, and his unbounded prerogatives, to that noble liberty, that sweet equality, and that happy security, by which they are at present distinguished above all nations of the universe."\* But, for these priceless blessings, his entire history teaches, they are indebted wholly to the Puritans. Indeed, he says, in another passage, in so many words, speaking of the Puritans, "by whom alone the precious spark of liberty had been kindled and was preserved, and to whom the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution." He describes them as men of "independent genius and large views, governed more by future consequences than former precedents." He admits that ancient and recent precedents, so late as the times of James I., were "diametrically opposed to all the principles of a free government;"† and we learn from him that absolutism was filched by the civil power from the ecclesiastical, in the contest of Henry with the Pope, engrafted by him into their constitution, and cherished by Elizabeth and James I. Hence, he informs us, although the reformed church in England, as established by Elizabeth, had embraced the early Calvinistic doctrines of the Puritans, yet, "at the restoration, the church, though she still retained her old subscriptions and articles of faith, was found to have totally changed her speculative doctrines, and to have embraced tenets more suitable to the genius of her discipline and worship, without its being possible to assign the precise period in which the alteration was produced."‡ In other words, the speculative doctrines of the church of the Reformation were found so to work in practice, as to have come into exceeding bad odour when royalty was restored to power.

In tracing the causes which led to the overthrow of absolute

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\* 3d Vol. Hume's History, 227.

† Ibid. 268.

‡ Ibid. 831.

power, he says, that many of the leaders among the commons were of the Puritanical party, and had "secretly embraced the rigid tenets of their sect,"—"although their religious schemes appear frivolous,\* men of the greatest parts and most extensive knowledge adopted them." He recognises the leaders of the House of Commons, in the time of Charles I., as of uncommon capacity and the largest views—"generous patriots, actuated by a warm regard to liberty, boldly embracing the side of freedom." Here is the palpable impersonation of a philosopher in a fog; he sees "men as trees walking." Hampden, Pym, and Vane, are made identical with what is "frivolous" in the most sacred transactions of their lives; men, the like of whom none ever lived before or since in England. The brightness of their character and the greatness of their deeds have been the admiration of all succeeding ages.

When he treats of the German reformers, the same cloud obscures his mental vision. He admits that Melancthon, Bucer, and their co-labourers, were of the greatest importance in the world; "that no poet or philosopher, even in ancient Greece, where they were treated with most respect, had ever reached equal applause and admiration;" and then he stigmatizes them as "wretched composers of metaphysical polemics."

In summing up the argument between the partizans of the court and the friends of liberty, he gives decided preponderance to the reasoning of the latter; and speaks of "that sacred liberty which heroic spirits, in all ages, have deemed more precious than life itself." And in the civil war which is to follow, he says, that "the good and virtuous would hardly know what vows to form, were it not that LIBERTY, so necessary to the perfection of human society, would be sufficient to bias their affections towards the

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\* 3d Vol. Hume's History, 352.

side of its defenders.”\* And then again, to come to the matter in hand, “the PURITANS, restrained in England, shipped themselves off for America, and laid the foundations of a government which possessed all the liberty, both civil and religious, of which they found themselves bereaved in their native country.”† Yes, “shipped themselves off,” with their “frivolous schemes,” their “paradoxical creed,” their “absurd doctrines;” and notwithstanding this superabundance of folly, paradox, and nonsense, wrought out for themselves and for the generations which come after them, superabounding good. We stand here this day to vindicate their fair fame from impious sneers. The blessings of good government, “like the dew of Hermon,” fall silent and unseen. “The evil that men do lives after them.” A sacred duty is devolved upon us to take care that the “good” done by our ancestors shall not “be interred with their bones.”

But the descendants of the Pilgrims might forgive the historian all his prejudice against the religion of their forefathers, in consideration of the seeming magnanimity of his avowal in the concluding chapter of his story—“No man,” says Hume, “has yet arisen, who has paid an entire regard to truth, and has dared to expose her, without covering or disguise, to the eyes of the prejudiced public.”‡

This is, indeed, a precious admission—what but to give notice to all—“in concluding this history, I must candidly acknowledge, I have not been able always to speak the truth; I had not the moral courage to dare to do it; the prejudices by which I was surrounded forced me to cover it up and disguise it.” Had this been said in the tone and manner of confession, as a matter to be repented of and reformed, it would be one thing: but it is a simple and naked *avowal*, with no seeming consciousness that it

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\* 3d Vol. Hume's History, 353.

† Ibid, 411.

‡ 4th Vol. 427.



betrays want of principle, obliquity of design, slavish fear; indicating an utter perversion of the moral sense. In the same paragraph he illustrates this theory of his admission by his own conduct, thus—he presents to us in subtle, sophistical, and incomprehensible combination, the course of the whigs, as having led to “the increase of law and liberty;” themselves as actuated by the “highest regard to liberty;” “noble in their ends and highly beneficial to mankind;” and yet, at the same time, governed by “rage and folly;” charging it upon them as a calumny, that they had propagated that “Charles I. was a tyrant,” thereby infatuating and corrupting the people, and promoting violence in the name of liberty and justice, and proceeding through a course of “delusions,” till they reached “a fiction which exceeds the ordinary bounds of human credulity!” This is, indeed, “wonderful;” to borrow his own phrase—alike wonderful and incomprehensible—the very climax of “covering up and disguising the truth from the eyes of a prejudiced public,” amounting to something more than simple paradox, and meriting the retaliation of some of his own phrases, before applied to the Puritans when speaking of their doctrines as “*frivolous nonsense*.” A calumny, indeed, to say that “Charles I. was a tyrant!” A calumny of such malignity and enormity, as to indicate “rage and folly in its authors!” This could only have been said by one who had already written of this same Charles—“we stand astonished, that, among a civilized people, so much virtue should ever meet with so fatal a catastrophe.”

Now the indubitable historical fact is, that the “two distinctive and decisive traits (of Charles I.) were despotism and bad faith.”\* He exhibited the “ruling passion strong in death,” when he said, upon the scaffold, that “he died the martyr of the people,” adding, “a share of the government being nothing pertaining to

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\* 6th Vol. Con. of Sir James M'Intosh's History, 127.

them." Of this it has been remarked, by one who had no fear of speaking the truth in the atmosphere of royalty, that "if he is to be esteemed a martyr, it is to the right and perpetuity of tyrannic power in the kings of England."\* How can his admirers, who see no fault in his character, forget the occasion of that celebrated exclamation by Strafford, "Put not your trust in princes," although the memory of it haunted Charles in his dying moments, and wrung from him the confession of "his having permitted an iniquitous sentence, which was then visited upon him in his own." If king ever owed any thing to subject, Charles owed it to Strafford, and yet he had the pusillanimity, against his own convictions of right and justice, nay, against a solemn pledge, when the life of his great minister was in his power, to permit him to be executed.

The apology for Charles is to be found in his having been taught to believe monarchy of "right divine," and that as he inherited the crown of the Tudors, so he might justly exercise the full extent of prerogative claimed by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, as had been done by his father, James I. Had he been suffered to go on, the nation must have sunk to the same degrading servitude, which Hume himself detects in the former reigns.

Such was the character of the government from which our forefathers fled for refuge to "the depths of the desert gloom."

It would be pleasant to spend some little time with the Pilgrims in Holland, if only to correct an error which long had currency, and into which some of our friends have fallen, as to the true character of their relations there, and the reasons of their departure.† But time forbids.

The old story of a Dutch captain of the *Mayflower*, bribed to avoid the fertile banks of the Hudson, has been long since ex-

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\* 6th Vol. Con. of Sir James M'Intosh's History, p. 126.

† See Note E, in Appendix.

ploded. We cherish the faith which teaches that it was an overruling power which delayed the little barque so long upon her voyage, and determined her approach after winter had begun, to the bleak shores of the old Bay State, creating a necessity there to land. But for this faith, how can we reconcile ourselves to those thousand ills of life, the wisdom of which we cannot now see, but "which we shall see hereafter." The one idea of the Pilgrims was the strength of their Faith and Hope—their trust in God—and this was sublime, beyond the comprehension of mere philosophy.

It is not proposed here to go over the chronicles of the Pilgrims, to recapitulate for the thousandth time what they did and what they suffered, with illustrations of their many virtues, their striking peculiarities, and their few but prominent errors.

They landed at Plymouth, on the 22d of December, 1620. They went through incredible hardships, and soon lost half their number. A step in advance of their brother Puritans, had entitled them to the designation of Separatists, and the honours of especial persecution. In their new position they were regarded with intense interest by their brethren, and were speedily reinforced. Within the next ten years, Endicott and Winthrop, with more numerous trains of followers, and more ample resources, settled in the vicinity of Boston. These had not separated themselves from the church of England, like the Plymouth Pilgrims, but were what was styled Non-conformists, of which character were all the subsequent settlements in New England. The difference between these two classes in England had been great; here it was soon forgotten, and is now only remembered as a matter of curious history. They were all Puritans. Impelled by similar motives, they had all fled to the wilderness, and have always been regarded as identical. We avoid the minute chronology of the settlement of these respective colonies, familiar no doubt to all. They occurred within the first twenty years.

The class to which they belong has been styled "the most remarkable body of men the world has ever produced."\* Certain it is, they have been more unjustly treated than any body of men the world has ever produced. We protest against the extravagance both of praise and of censure with which their character has been sketched by one of the most distinguished writers of the day. There is no arriving at the sober certainty of truth in the midst of such violent contrasts. We protest also against the super-sublimation of the character of their great champion, by a scarce less distinguished writer. We live in an age when the public taste requires that all should be in heroics, and our literary caterers yield to its demands. We are on the very verge of the mock-heroics. It might even be well that some Cervantes should send us another knight errant, of peerless honour, stainless virtue, dauntless courage, and truthful love, who should make us so laugh at our own follies, by his whole-souled and simple-hearted extravaganza, as to bring back things to the modesty of nature. Now, to arrest attention, every thing must be presented in the shape of paradox. The reviewer makes his shades so very dark, and his lights so very bright, as to give a series of startling contradictions. History, to be attractive, must be clothed in the guise of fiction. The historical novel bewilders by its mixture of truth with falsehood. The pathos of song must have its equivalent of humour to make us laugh when we should rather weep. Learning must be made picturesque, and the common incidents of life dramatised to appear as so many oddities. We have all got to be, some how, bizarre: the whole world is fast becoming grotesque. Caricature is a perfect passion with us: not only the pen and pencil and the burin minister to it; but the art of printing. Our good old fashioned English capitals, when used to usher in a grave topic, must

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\* Macaulay.

nevertheless have their circumambients of all sorts of comicalities. Whether Jeffrey, or Macaulay, or Carlyle, or Theodore Hook, or Tom Hood, have aided to bring about this state of things, and which most, certain it is that in the popular literature of the day Punch and Boz are lords of the ascendant.

Why should a sincere religious profession be regarded as ridiculous and incomprehensible; earnest devotion as fanaticism, and all conversation on the subject out of church, or on any other day but Sunday, as cant?

Washington was not ashamed to acknowledge his obligations to the God of battles: Washington, of whom it may be said with more propriety than of the great captain to whom the words have been applied,—

*Cujus negotium, an otium,  
Gloriosius incertum.*

Franklin, when the members of that old Congress, which declared our independence, were in their darkest hour of adversity, proposed that they should seek wisdom from above. The President of the United States, in his annual message to Congress, still recognises the “divine guidance.” Nay, we date every transaction in life with reference to the Christian era; and this, by common consent, throughout the Christian world. The event which it commemorates is regarded as the bright particular spot in the history of our race. Thus the entire Christian world recognises one great truth in common, as paramount to every other. Why should it be that when we come to treat of this subject, we must study a curious felicity of speech to avoid the imputation of cant, always offensive to “ears polite?” Such is human nature.

But time has done much for the Puritan character. We must not withhold our acknowledgments to Macaulay and Carlyle for their labours in this behalf, although we have ventured to protest against certain peculiarities of style. The change in public opi-

nion respecting the true character of Cromwell, the great Puritan champion, now almost universal, is to be ascribed, mainly, to their efforts.\* The article upon Milton, which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* some twenty years ago, produced a great sensation, and paved the way for what has followed. Forster, in his *Lives of Eminent British Statesmen*, first published in the *Cabinet Cyclopædia*; and the continuation of Sir James M'Intosh's *History* by Wallace, aided in accomplishing this object. But the recent work by Carlyle upon Cromwell is a marvel. It is a marvel in itself, and has produced a still greater marvel in having convinced the Blackwood writers that Cromwell was not a hypocrite. His magazine says that the perusal of Carlyle's volumes will disabuse any candid and intelligent mind of this hypothesis. It is a marvel in having been made the foundation of another life of the Puritan champion by D'Aubigné. It is a marvel in itself, because of its profound investigation and research; its unparalleled dexterity in the use of chronology; its fearless and independent tone; its power and pathos, and eloquence and entertaining incident—and this all covered up in a style so odd and strange, that you have every now and then to stop to determine whether to laugh or cry.† Carlyle has not satisfied us that Cromwell was perfect, either as a man or as a statesman. But he has demonstrated that Crom-

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\* Macaulay and Carlyle both bear testimony, that while the character of Cromwell has been the object alike of ridicule and denunciation, ever since the restoration, without any one to defend it, still it has constantly maintained its hold upon the admiration of the great mass of the people of England, and that this has rather increased than diminished with the lapse of time.

† It is remarkable that Carlyle refers to a letter from John Maidstone, one of the Protector's household, to *Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut*, as furnishing more insight into the true character of Cromwell than any of his express biographies. This letter is published in an Appendix to Forster's *Life of Cromwell*, in the *Cabinet Cyclopædia*, occupying twelve pages.

well did all that any mere man could do under the circumstances; that he did more than any other man who ever lived has done as a sovereign, for liberty and truth; that he was unsurpassed in the excellence of his domestic relations, pre-eminent in council as in the field, and that he died in the "full assurance of hope." Of what other conqueror can it be said, that—"*he never fought a battle without gaining a victory. He never gained a victory without annihilating the force opposed to him.*"\* What other sovereign ever avowed sentiments in favour of religious toleration, like those words of the Lord Protector to his Parliament,—“if the poorest Christian, the most mistaken Christian, should desire to live peaceably and quietly under you, let him be protected.”†

The able author of the *Lives of Eminent British Statesmen*, appears to have lent himself to the old theory of hypocrisy, notwithstanding the general liberality of his strain. Carlyle commends his work, but speaks of him as endowed “with energy in abundance and superabundance.” All these men of superabundant energy run into paradoxical extremes. Mr. Forster speaks of Cromwell, as “a solitary specimen of a great man, who was not also a true one;”‡ and yet he says, in conclusion, speaking of his death,§ which occurred on the eve of the anniversary of the day on which he achieved each of his great victories, at Worcester and Dunbar, “It was indeed a night which prophesied a woful time to England, but to Cromwell it proved a night of happiness. It ushered in for him, far more surely than at Worcester or Dunbar, his FORTUNATE DAY.” What confidence can we place in any estimate of character by one who supposes that his hero may find happiness in death, although in life he was not a man of truth; or how can we suppose that to be a fortunate day for such a man, on

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\* Macaulay.

† 7th Vol. Forster's *Eminent British Statesmen*, 156.

‡ Ibid. 274.

§ Ibid. 392.

which he exchanges the probation of time for the retributions of Eternity—leaves a frowning world to meet an angry God!

An able writer in Blackwood, in his review of Carlyle, while he exempts Cromwell from hypocrisy, charges his faults to the peculiarities of his creed. He says, again and again, he was a *genuine Puritan*—"every where and throughout, the genuine, fervid Puritan"—"the Puritan general, the Puritan statesman"—"it is as the great Puritan that he must ever be remembered in history." But he would have us believe that Puritanism itself was all a cheat. Cromwell was honest, but his religion was false, says Blackwood, thus—"His religion, genuine as it was, would no more prevent him from the practice of this necessary craft, than from the sanguinary deeds not more necessary to the triumph of his cause."—"When the saints were in the ascendant, dissimulation would unavoidably take a religious form." We protest against having such a religion as this palmed off upon our forefathers. It is the reasoning of a monarchist, who has no conception of religion, except as a matter of king-craft. That is the only true religion with him, which best sustains the divine right of the king his master. He flatters himself that he has taken a step beyond Clarendon and Hume, and the herd who have followed them in putting forward hypocrisy as the clue to Cromwell's character; but he has taken a false step. He admits that Cromwell is not the least extraordinary, nor the "least misrepresented personage in history," and says, "we look upon this hypothesis, this Machiavelian explanation of Cromwell's character, as henceforth entirely dismissed from all candid and intelligent minds."—"It has lasted long enough."—"It may now be torn into shreds, and cast aside as utterly faithless." He then proceeds, deliberately, to place a *fool's cap* on his head, demonstrating to his own entire satisfaction, that the religion of the Puritans, which Cromwell sincerely professed, was the quintessence of folly!



And yet he concedes to him throughout his elaborate, ingenious, and eloquent article, the possession of rare virtues and strong conscientiousness, and expresses great admiration of some concluding passages of his life, when, as he beautifully remarks,—"the sere and yellow leaf is falling on the shelterless head of the royal Puritan."

Cromwell first girt on his sword as Captain of the Ironsides, in 1642.\* His great deeds were all achieved within the seventeen years ensuing. He died in 1658, under sixty years of age. He had been a farmer of St. Ives. From being captain of a company of yeomen cavalry, in ten years he became the greatest captain of his time. All his battles were fought before 1652. His pre-eminent abilities made him Lord Protector. His military fame had already become world-wide; as a statesman he attained equal renown. He was, indisputably, the master-spirit of the age. All history does not furnish his parallel. No other man ever accomplished so much in the same time. None of the legitimate sovereigns of England can be at all compared to him. He was a man every way estimable in the relations of private life, and his virtue did not succumb before the temptations of his great and sudden elevation. His public character has long been a difficult problem. The descendants of the Puritans owe a debt of gratitude to Carlyle for placing it in a true light. He was the cotemporary of the Pilgrims. He was of their own creed. He drew his sword to resist the same tyranny which had driven them into the wilderness. He was actuated by the same religious principles, the same motives. They lived and died by these principles and have perpetuated them here. Their influence has been illustrated in the lives and conduct of each succeeding generation, and the result is

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\* If we examine the records, more than one of the sons of New England will find the names of ancestors made freemen of Massachusetts in that year.

before us. The world sees it. It is time to have done with these sneers at the religion of the Puritans. Let any other sect produce a braver or a better champion than OLIVER CROMWELL; let any other religion point to greater results, or better fruits—to more that has been done to honour God and improve the condition of men.

We have been taught from earliest childhood to set a high estimate on the value of LIBERTY. We see its emblem every where around us, as that of the guardian genius of our country. The day on which our fathers resolved to vindicate their right to the enjoyment of it, with life, fortune, and sacred honour, is celebrated as our great national anniversary. It was for this they drew the sword and returned it not again into the scabbard until they had won the greatest boon which heaven vouchsafes to man. *Placidam sub Libertate quietem*. Liberty and peace. Civil liberty and religious liberty. Liberty of conscience and peace of conscience—"that peace which passeth knowledge." This is the glorious boon for which our Puritan ancestors had been struggling since the days of Wickliffe. Unfortunately, in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, we forget or neglect too much the importance of moral liberty. Few, very few, it is to be feared, understand the true meaning of this word, in the possession of which all profess so greatly to rejoice; still fewer, probably, have any just or adequate sense of the responsibilities which it imposes.

Shortly before our declaration of independence, there appeared in Great Britain a work on this subject, which produced a great sensation at the time.\* It was entitled, "Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, the Principles of Government, and the Justice and Policy of the War with America, by Richard

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\* You might have seen it in the library of every American whig of the revolution. Many a son of New England here to-day, no doubt, recollects his early wonder that this book should be deemed worthy of a place alongside of the family Bible, in the family library.

Price." The preface to the first edition is dated Feb. 8, 1776, that to the fifth, March 12, 1776. From the eighth edition, published within the same year, we cite a single passage, such as when heard by those who have been so bitter in their denunciation of the religion of our ancestors, one would suppose, should make their ears tingle.

"I cannot help wishing I could here fix my reader's attention, and engage him to consider carefully the dignity of that blessing to which we give the name of LIBERTY, according to the representation now made of it. There is not a word in the whole compass of language, which expresses so much of what is important and excellent. It is, in every view of it, a blessing truly sacred and invaluable. Without *Physical Liberty*, man would be a machine acted upon by mechanical springs, having no principle of motion in himself, or command over events; and therefore incapable of all merit or demerit—without *Moral Liberty*, he is a wicked and detestable being, subject to the tyranny of base lusts, and the sport of every vile appetite—and without *Civil and Religious Liberty*, he is a poor and abject animal, without rights, without property, and without a conscience, bending his neck to the yoke, and crouching to the will of every silly creature who has the insolence to pretend to authority over him. Nothing, therefore, can be of so much consequence to us as *Liberty*. It is the foundation of all honour, and the chief privilege and glory of our nature."

Here we are taught, in

"Thoughts that breathe and words that burn,"

that with Liberty man may fulfil his highest destiny—choose for himself the path of usefulness and happiness—ally himself to the highest order of created intelligences—fit himself to live and to die. Brave words, these, truly, and bravely spoken,—and brave Old England for permitting them to be spoken, and not punishing the author as Christian men were punished, who spoke God's truth in the ears of royalty, before the days of Oliver Cromwell; and this eight times over during the very year that America first

proclaimed liberty to the captive. Where were Laud, and the Star Chamber, and the Court of High Commission, once so blood-thirsty in vindication of the royal prerogative, and in teaching the people that "government was an affair with which they had nothing to do?" Thanks to the *Puritans*, these mighty engines of power had been crushed—the spell by which men had been held in slavery, was broken. Yes, thanks to the Puritans—"the genuine Puritan"—"the fervid Puritan"—"the conscientious, zealous Puritan"—"the Puritan general, the Puritan statesman"—the Puritan of the same sect and stamp with those who "shipped themselves off for America"—that some restraint is put upon the prerogative, some liberty reserved for the subject, and some rights are secured to the people of England.

The day we celebrate is second only in importance to that of the anniversary of our independence as a nation. Second, because it witnessed but the planting of that tree, of which the other saw the blossoming. Sons of the Pilgrims who first landed on the "stern and rock-bound coast" of New England, and there, at the expense of toil and suffering and blood, made for themselves and for their children a happy home, we meet, after the lapse of two hundred and twenty-seven years, in this fair land of Penn. Here, under the over-shadowing branches of this tree of liberty, we have cast our lot, and here many of us have numbered the greater part of "the days of our years." Here are our altars and our firesides, with the thousand ties and affinities which cluster around them—here our children have been born, and here we expect to lay our bones. It is with no want of fealty to home and hearth-stone, that, on this festal day, our hearts yearn towards the land of our fathers. With hearts true to the *natale solum*, we can still bear testimony that our "lines have been cast in pleasant places." Upon a recent occasion, in this city, a distinguished gentleman paid a just tribute to the public spirit and liberal contributions of the citizens of Boston to scientific, literary, and benevo-

lent objects. We have been before indebted to the same source, for a notice of the new England character, and of New England men, spoken out openly and handsomely. We would gladly repay our neighbour for his kind office to the "town of Boston," by furnishing a list of Philadelphia contributions to religious, literary, scientific and benevolent objects, prepared by the President of this Society. These statistics have been collected under an impression that we had not done ourselves justice in this respect. No other city is, perhaps, so reserved in speaking of its own good deeds as Philadelphia. Ever ready to do justice to the public spirit of others, she seldom speaks of her own. It will be seen, upon examination, that we are not behind any other town in the Union in the exercise of philanthropy. In truth, this city was founded by a sect proverbial for benevolence, and a large portion of its inhabitants have always devoted their spare time and money, systematically and regularly, to our great public charities. These furnish resources for their leisure hours, which others find in places of fashionable amusement. The great amount of active but quiet and unseen charity always going on around us, is a marked characteristic of the city of Penn. Of the list which has been referred to, comprising more than one hundred and fifty public charities and bequests for public objects, we cannot afford space to state more, than that for the promotion of literature, the establishment of libraries, and for general education, about *three* million three hundred thousand dollars have been given by individuals, and provided by the public.

For other benevolent and useful purposes, *six* million seven hundred thousand dollars, in testamentary and other modes of donation, have been bestowed by citizens of Philadelphia, making an aggregate of *ten* millions of dollars. This includes, of course, the Girard legacy. The public schools cost annually about two hundred and forty thousand dollars, educating thirty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-five children.

This authoritative statement will be regarded with the more interest, as coming from one who, through a long life of active usefulness, public spirit, and enlightened intelligence, has done honour to the city of his birth in the city of his adoption, and now makes it, not that he loves Boston less but Philadelphia more. We would not provoke invidious contrasts between Philadelphia and the city of the *three hills*. We are, in truth, here, now, in more intimate intercourse and closer contact with Boston than Plymouth was during all the time they belonged to separate colonies. In all respects of time, trouble and expense, we are nearer to Boston than they were in the old colony for two hundred years. The intercommunication is far greater. Such are the revolutions produced by commerce, manufactures, rail-roads and the telegraph. Time was when the journey from Barnstable to Boston was a work of two days. From Berkshire, then their far west, to Boston, four days. The man is now living who has seen and conversed with the post rider, who took the entire mail in his saddle-bags, on horseback, between Boston and New York, going one week and returning the next. Now they can make the journey from Berkshire in one day; we travel from here to Boston in twenty-four hours. We communicate by telegraph and obtain an answer in less than an hour. In truth, we are fast becoming one people. This vast commerce which has recently sprung up, our demand for and sale of their manufactures, their demand for and consumption of our flour and coal and iron, create mutual interests and mutual dependence, while the rail-road and the telegraph furnish the means of quick responsive sympathies. Look at the immense amount of New England capital now invested here, not only in mercantile houses, but in our rail-roads and canals, in coal fields and iron mines. Look at that fleet of coasters whose sails continually whiten the bosom of the Delaware; look at that forest of masts at Richmond; what does all this speak? We must be one people.

And while we rejoice in New England as the land of our fathers, the land of our birth, let us rejoice more that we are citizens of the United States. Let it be our chief pride and glory, that we enjoy the blessings of this Federal Union, and the hope to transmit them unimpaired to our children.

There is a spot within the limits of the old colony, a forest of several thousand acres in extent, where the fallow deer and young fawn still have their range; there may still be seen the wigwam and the slight canoe, together with some poor remnants of the race once monarchs of the soil. Within their immediate vicinity, some of our ancestors have dwelt for more than two centuries, and a great part of their descendants still find their home. When the clarion sounded its cry for liberty in the war of the revolution, when the thunder of the artillery at Bunker Hill, came to them across the waters of the Massachusetts bay, you might have seen men of three generations of the same name and family, rallying in the same ranks, to stand by the men of Boston, of Lexington, and of Concord. Their efforts aided to establish this Union—to make this a free country; to unite us as one country. Looking at their participation in this great work, our hearts swell with peculiar emotions as citizens of this republic. Let us ever cherish the recollection as among the most interesting of the pleasant memories of father-land.

## APPENDIX.

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### NOTE A.—page 11.

THE entire passage is this,—

“The history of tyranny affords no example of a female of seventeen, by command of a female, and a relation, put to death for acquiescence in the injunction of a father, sanctioned by the concurrence of all that the kingdom could boast of that was illustrious in nobility, or grave in law, or venerable in religion. The example is the more affecting, as it is that of a person who exhibited a matchless union of youth and beauty, with genius, with learning, with virtue, with piety; whose affections were so warm, while her passions were so perfectly subdued. It was a death sufficient to honour and dishonour an age.”

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### NOTE B.—page 11.

We cite the following brief passages from a summary of her character.

“She inherited the passions of her father. Her temper was impatient, self-indulgent, jealous, savage, and tyrannical.”

“When she found her favourite, Essex, incorrigible, she deliberately cut off his head.”

“Her severities against the Roman Catholics are vindicated only by sophistry, and extenuated only by falsehood.”

“The spirit of her severities against the *Puritans* was more personal and keen.”

“She foresaw, perhaps, that the *Puritans* were making the breach through which *liberty* and *reason* would one day enter.”\*

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\* History of England continued from the late Sir James M<sup>c</sup>Intosh, Vol. IV., pp. 146, 147.



## NOTE C.—page 12.

It is recorded, that “the day of his coronation was the worst weather of the season, and that eleven hundred persons died the same week, in London, of plague.”

“He swore that he would fight to the death against *a toleration*; and he sent men to the tower for the offence of petitioning for it.”

“He altered the Book of Common Prayer, without reference to the clergy in convocation, and assumed despotic power in all matters, whether civil or ecclesiastical.”

When forced to call a Parliament in 1604, “he opened the session with a speech of rambling egotism, dictation and *despotism*, exceeding the usual length of a sermon.”

“In the third year of his reign he was reduced to extreme and degrading want. He could neither pay his servants nor supply his table.”

“The tone of *prerogative*, compared with the late reign, rose with the debility and folly of James, compared with the strength and prudence of Elizabeth. This state of things led actually to the great catastrophe of the next reign. The only matter of surprise is, that it was delayed so long.”

“The example of his vulgarity and his vices debased the court. No idea can be formed of the indecency and dissolution that prevailed there.”\*

## NOTE D.—page 14.

Sir James M’Intosh says, in his third volume of the History of England, chapter fourth, at page 185,—

“The first movement of the human mind in the sixteenth century which may be called Lutheran, was very distinguishable from the religious convulsions which afterwards ensued. The German reformation was effected by princes in form subordinate, in fact independent. As soon as the revolt of the boors was suppressed, the new religion coalesced with the established government as perfectly as the ancient faith had before done. All changes were introduced by legal authority, and the same power restrained them within their original limits. If some German states had not adopted a Calvinistic system, which gave rise to the distinction between ‘Evangelicals

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\* Continuation of Sir James M’Intosh’s History.

and Reformed,' there would have been no inlet left for toleration among the rigid doctors of the Saxon reform. But after a time, being most reluctantly compelled to make common cause against the church of Rome, they very slowly learned the necessity of extending the boundaries of toleration beyond those of common belief. The principle of the Lutherans was the right of the civil ruler to reform religion, and to maintain it as it was reformed. Laws had established Lutheranism: it had been the object of negotiation, and consequently liable to some compromise. Treaties had secured the religion of each separate state. At the point where we now pause, the face of Germany was calm, and its general quiet was for many years after undisturbed.

"The second religious movement, called *Calvinistic*, was of more popular origin, and rose in defiance of the authorities of the world. In France and the Low Countries, its principal seat, it had to struggle with bigoted sovereigns and cruel laws. The reformation was indeed every where connected with civil liberty. But among the Lutherans the connexion was long invisible, and the fruits of it very slowly ripened. Among the French and Belgic Calvinists who were obliged to resist the civil as well as the ecclesiastical superiors, the connexion of civil and religious liberty was no longer indirect. It forced itself on the eyes and hearts of all Protestants. It had long before been foretold that a revolt against the ancient authority of the church would shake the absolute power of monarchs to its foundation. But it was not till princes became religious persecutors that persecuted subjects inquired into the source and boundaries of political power. The Calvinists resisted their monarch in order to defend themselves."

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NOTE E.—page 21.

In Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, at page 48, after giving the reasons assigned by Bradford and Winslow, why the Pilgrims left Holland, we have the following note.

"These reasons for their removal, as stated by Bradford and Winslow, are sufficient, and are to be received as the true and sole reasons. Yet Douglass, in his *Summary*, i. 369, says, "Being of unsteady temper, they resolved to remove to some remote country in some wilderness,—as recluses." Chalmers, in his *Political Annals*, p. 85, says, 'After twelve years' unmolested residence they became unhappy in their situation, because they foresaw the destruction of their society in the toleration they enjoyed; and determined to seek

new adventures in America. Continuing unhappy in a country where they were obscure and unpersecuted,' &c. Robertson, in his *History of America*, Book X., says, 'They resided at Leyden for several years unmolested and obscure. But as their church received no increase, either by recruits from England or by proselytes gained in the country, they began to be afraid that all their high attainments in spiritual knowledge would be lost, if they remained longer in a strange land.' And Burke, in his account of the European Settlements in America, says that 'though in a country of the greatest religious freedom in the world, they did not find themselves better satisfied than they had been in England. They were tolerated indeed, but watched; their zeal began to have dangerous languors for want of opposition; and being without power or consequence, they grew tired of the indolent security of their sanctuary.' These sneers are as contemptible as they are unjust. It is to be regretted that any respectable writer in this country should have incautiously given currency to such misrepresentations. Chief Justice Marshall perceived and corrected the error into which he had been led by following such unworthy authorities. Compare his life of Washington, i. 90, (first ed.) with his *History of the American Colonies*, p. 78."









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